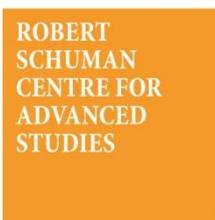




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EU Policy toward Asia and the Pacific:
A View from Japan

Takako Ueta

European University Institute
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Abstract

This paper explains the changing feature of EU policy toward Asia and the Pacific from the viewpoint of Japan. In the era of global power shift, and because of the impressive economic growth in Asia, the EU's interest in this region is growing. This paper describes competitive trade liberalisation projects as well as “defunct” regional security frameworks and dialogues in view of the rise of China, and EU relations with ASEAN, Japan and China. In response to this evolution, this paper analyses an EU policy document, its new Guidelines of Foreign and Security Policy in East Asia and a ground-breaking joint statement of the EU and US on cooperation in this region. Finally, this paper suggests several policy proposals on the EU's constructive role in Asia and the Pacific.

Keywords

European Union (EU); Asia and the Pacific; Japan; USA

1. Introduction*

Asia and the Pacific region was not a priority area of EU external relations. Except for its vital relations with the US, its focus has been the neighbouring countries including Russia, the Middle East and North Africa. Among its ten “strategic partners,” the US, Russia, Japan, Canada, India, China and South Korea are in Asia and the Pacific.

The EU and its member countries’ interest in Asia and the Pacific was focused on its economic and trade relations. The sharp contrast between the EU and its partners in the region is the perception of possible military threat from China, although traditionally and historically, South Korea’s relations with China have been delicate and South Korea has tried to avoid offending China.

China has never been a cause of direct military threat for the EU and its member countries while it has been regarded as a large trade and economic opportunity because of the size of population and market. In Europe, the concept of China’s “peaceful rise” seemed to be accepted in accordance with the wish of Europe, but China will not be another Japan, whose economic success in the 1970s and 80s caused trade frictions with European countries.

The fundamental difference between Japan and China is that after its defeat in the Pacific War, Japan abandoned patriotic nationalism and has followed Western norms and values including a set of international rules. It has never challenged them.

In September 2010, in the keynote speech of the IISS (International Institute for Strategic Studies) Global Strategic Review, Dr. Henry Kissinger pointed out the issue as follows: “Many writers have drawn an analogy between China’s emergence as a great power and potential rival of the United States today and Germany’s ascendancy in Europe a hundred years ago, when Great Britain was the dominant international power but proved unable to integrate Germany.

The case of China is even more complicated...China’s ability to continue to manage its emergence as a great power side by side with its internal transformation is one of the pivotal questions of our time.

Increased popular participation is not the inevitable road to international reconciliation, as is often asserted. A century ago, Germany was gradually allowing more and more freedom of speech and press. But that new found freedom in the public sphere gave vent to an assortment of voices, including a chauvinistic tendency insisting on an ever more assertive foreign policy. Western leaders would do well to keep this in mind when hectoring China on its internal politics.”

This paper describes the changing power constellation in Asia and the Pacific, and the role of the EU in the region. The EU has wished to be a political actor for a long time and its time has come.

2. EU Policy under the Lisbon Treaty and the European External Action Service

The Lisbon Treaty created the European External Action Service (EEAS), the “EU Foreign Ministry.” It has a different organisational chart from the former DG RELEX (External Relations Directorate) of the Commission. In the former RELEX, Japan, the Korean Peninsula, Australia and New Zealand was not in the geographical Asia Department, but with the US, Canada and other industrialised countries.

The biggest difference is that the EEAS covers the entire world including the ACP and acceding and candidate or potential candidate countries of the EU. On Asia, finally, Japan, the Korean Peninsula, Australia and New Zealand are in the Managing Directorate (MD) Asia. Japan, China, the Korean Peninsula, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific islands are under the same Director. In the

* The author served as Ambassador, Deputy Chief of the Mission of Japan to the EU, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan from 2008 to 2011. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are the author’s own.

EEAS, institutionally, it would be easier to coordinate policy toward Japan, China and other countries in Asia.

The specific character of the EU's external relations is stipulated in Article 21 of the Lisbon Treaty: its "action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law." EU external policy will extend its values to the world.

Among its principles, the rule of law should be a key stabilising factor in Asia and the Pacific in view of the disputes over the East China Sea and the South China Sea. On September 25, 2012, High Representative Ashton issued a declaration on behalf of the EU: "With its significant interests in the region, the EU is following with concern developments in East Asia's maritime areas. The EU urges all parties concerned to seek peaceful and cooperative solutions in accordance with international law, in particular the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea and to clarify the basis for their claims."

3. Competitive Trade Liberalisation in Asia and the Pacific

The IISS has published *Strategic Survey 2012*, and refers to "The Birth of an Asian Century?" Asia's share of global GDP is now about 30% and by 2050, it will be up to 50%. The Asian Development Bank (ADP) forecasts that seven countries including China, Japan, India, Indonesia, Korea, Thailand and Malaysia will be the engine of the growth of the region, with an emphasis on China, India and Indonesia. It notes that "Japan remains the largest global creditor with \$3.2 trillion in net foreign assets" while China holds \$1.7. The ADP also warns of domestic inequality, poor governance and competition for national resources must be managed to meet the prediction.¹

In Asia, China is the second largest and Japan is the third largest economy in the world. In terms of GDP per capita, based on the IMF and the World Bank data in 2011, the US is placed between Ireland and Belgium (ranking No.7 and 8 in the EU27), Japan, between Belgium and Germany (ranking No.8 and 9), and China is below No.27, Bulgaria. Most of the Asian countries including India are still very poor and their populations are huge.

Based on the Eurostat 2011 data, excluding the intra EU trade, among the top ten EU trade partners (including import and export) are the US (No.1, 444,799.0 million euros, 13.8%), China (No.2, 428,351.9, 13.3%), Russia (No.3, 306,776.6, 9.5%), Japan(No.7, 116,419.2, 3.6%), India(No.8, 79,739.8, 2.5 %) and South Korea (No.10, 68,517.8, 2.1%).

With the Asian countries, the EU-South Korea FTA entered into force in July 2011, which is the first EU trade agreement with an Asian country. In December 2012, the EU FTA with Singapore, the ranking No.13 trade partner, the EU Trade Commissioner De Gucht and Singapore's Minister of Trade and Industry, completed final negotiations. The EU would like to conclude a FTA with other ASEAN countries.

On November 29th, 2012, EU Foreign Affairs Council (Trade) gave a mandate to start negotiations of the FTA or EPA (Economic Partnership Agreement) with Japan. Both parties will start parallel negotiations of a political agreement (framework agreement in EU terms) from spring 2013. The Commission calculates the potential benefit of this free trade deal as follows: firstly, it would boost EU economy by 0.8% of its GDP, secondly EU exports to Japan could increase by 32.7% and Japanese exports to the EU would increase by 23.5%, and thirdly, 420,000 additional jobs in the EU are expected. The EU and the US announced on February 13, 2013 that both parties will start the

¹ "II.The Birth of Asian Century?" in "Strategic Geography 2012," IISS, *Strategic Survey 2012*, Routledge, London, 2012.

internal procedures necessary to launch negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. This agreement will have a great impact on world trade.

In Asia and the Pacific, there have been competitive trade liberalisation projects, including the US proposal of the APEC(Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation)-wide FTAAP(Free Trade Area of Asia-Pacific), the proposal of Japan on ASEAN plus six(Japan, China, Korea, India, Australia and the Chinese proposal on ASEAN plus three(China, Japan, Korea). The US-led TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership, Trans-Pacific Strategic Partnership Agreement), ASEAN plus six and ASEAN plus three will be expected to be merged into the FTAAP. The TPP negotiations are ongoing among eleven countries: the US, Canada, Mexico, Chile, New Zealand, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei and Vietnam. Prime Minister Abe will decide to enter the ongoing negotiations of the TPP. The Japan-US Joint Statement on February 22, 2013² facilitated the decision of Japan. China has perceived the TPP as a competitive project against Chinese influence.

On November 20, 2012, the negotiations for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) were launched by the ASEAN countries, Japan, China, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and India. Despite the political difficulties between Japan and China as well as Japan and Korea, caused by territorial claims by China and Korea, the three countries announced the launch of the FTA negotiations on the same day. In 2011, China was the largest trade partner of Japan, and Japan was the largest import source of China as an individual country. The EU 27 countries are the largest export destination of China. Asia is the largest trading partner of the European Union (42.5% of total trade) in 2011. For the Asian countries, the EU is the most important trading partner and the EU is a major investor there. It shows that interdependence among Asia and the EU is ever growing.

4. Asia-Pacific Security Frameworks and Tensions in the South China Sea and the East China Sea

In Asia and the Pacific, the ASEAN is the only regional organization which is based on the ASEAN Declaration, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC), the ASEAN Charter and other documents, and has its own Secretariat. The other frameworks are a series of meetings.³ The East Asia Summit (EAS) has had annual summit and foreign ministerial meetings, which are prepared by senior officials. It covers all the dimension of relations of the member countries including economic, political, social and global issues.

The security dialogue forum, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), has had annual foreign ministerial meetings and senior officials have prepared them. Inter-sessional Meetings on Disaster Relief, Maritime Security, Non-proliferation and Disarmament, and Confidence-Building Measures and Preventive Diplomacy have been convened and other experts' meeting held. The role of the ARF Unit in the ASEAN Secretariat is expected to support the meetings. Another security dialogue forum is the ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus) every other year. This includes ASEAN plus the US, Russia, Japan, China, India, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand. Separately, ASEAN has meetings with the US, the EU, Japan, China, and other countries regularly.

The regional cooperation among the ASEAN countries contributed to the stability in the region. However, the growing influence of China over this region has created the disunity of the ASEAN countries. Under the chair of Cambodia, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers Meeting in July 2012 could not agree on its statement. It made clear the limit of the ASEAN centred approach to maintaining stability and security in Asia and the Pacific. In the ARF, China has blocked any military CSBMs.

² http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/kaidan/s_abe2/vti_1302/pdfs/1302_us_02.pdf.

³ For the details of the membership, see Annex I.

In comparison to Europe, where security dialogues have been highly institutionalised, in the case of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), it has the Secretariat and Permanent Missions of the member countries are located in Vienna. The Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Cooperation have been the venues for weekly security dialogues, which serve regular contact and risk reduction among the participating states and have promoted understanding of the positions among them. In Asia and the Pacific, there is no immediate multilateral communication link, similar to that which the OSCE participating states have established.

The Chinese quest for energy resources in the South China Sea and the East China Sea with its threatening coercive attitudes has raised concern. In the case of the South China Sea, there have been overlapping border claims by China, Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines and other countries in the region. In October 2012, for the first time, the EAS member countries joined the ASEAN Maritime Forum. No progress on the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea has been achieved so far.

In the case of the East China Sea, it was in 1971, after an academic survey by the UN ECAFE had shown the possibility of the existence of petroleum resources in the surrounding sea in 1968, when the Government of China and Taiwan officially started to make their sovereign territorial claims on the Senkaku Islands.⁴

The territory of Japan was defined by the San Francisco Peace Treaty which was signed by 49 countries and entered into force in 1952. Based on the Peace Treaty, the Senkaku Islands were under the US administration along with mainland Okinawa, and the US restored them to Japan in 1972. This is why the Government of the US has made it clear that the US has an obligation to defend them under article five of the US-Japan Security Treaty, which is comparable to the article five of the North Atlantic Treaty.

In Europe, there are opinions that from the viewpoint of the freedom of navigation, the disputes in the South China Sea are more important. However, it is noteworthy to quote the decisive remarks by the US. The National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal 2013 defines the East China Sea, including the Senkaku Islands, as "a vital part of the maritime commons of Asia, including critical sea lanes of communication and commerce that benefit all nations of the Asia-Pacific region." It recognises the Obama Administration's position on the security guarantee which is based on the Japan-US Security Treaty: "The unilateral actions of a third party will not affect [the] United States' acknowledgement of the administration of Japan over the Senkaku Islands.....The United States reaffirms its commitment to the Government of Japan under Article V of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security that '[e]ach Party recognizes that an armed attack against either Party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.'"

The Obama Government has referred to this significant point many times since the collision incidents near Senkaku in September 2010.

During the Joint Press Availability after the meeting with Foreign Minister Maehara of Japan on October 26 in 2010, in response to a question, Secretary of State Clinton clearly stated as follows: "Well, first let me say clearly again that the Senkakus fall within the scope of Article 5 of the 1960 U.S.-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security. This is part of the larger commitment that the United States has made to Japan's security. We consider the Japanese-U.S. alliance one of the most important alliance partnerships we have anywhere in the world and we are committed to our obligations to protect the Japanese people." In mid-September 2012, when US Secretary of Defense Panetta visited China, he made this point clear to his counterpart, the Chinese Defence Minister.

Since the attack by a Chinese fishing trawler against two Japanese Coast Guard patrol vessels in September 2010 in the territorial sea of Japan, Chinese vessels have entered Japanese territorial sea

⁴ On the positions of Japan, see <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/senkaku/index.html>.

frequently. In mid-December in 2012, when an airplane of the State Oceanic Administration of China as well as four vessels entered Japanese territorial airspace and sea, in his daily press briefing, Acting Deputy Spokesperson, Mr. Ventrill said, “We are concerned by the flight of a Chinese Government airplane near the Senkakus. It’s important to avoid actions that raise tensions and to prevent miscalculations that could undermine peace, security, and economic growth in the region. And so we’ve raised our concerns with the Chinese Government directly and made clear that U.S. policy and commitments regarding the Senkakus Islands are longstanding and have not changed.”

On January 18, 2013, after the meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Kishida, Secretary of State Clinton emphasized the importance of this alliance: “when I became Secretary of State nearly four years ago, I broke with tradition and took my first overseas trip not to Europe but to Asia, because I recognized that America needed to reengage in the region where much of the history of the 21st century is being and will be written. And there was no question as to which country I would visit first on that trip. It was Japan. As I said when I arrived in Tokyo, our alliance with Japan remains the cornerstone of American engagement in the region.... Our people have stood side by side, and we have strengthened this alliance which has endured for more than six decades. So as my time as Secretary of State comes to an end, I want to thank the people and leaders of Japan for their partnership and commitment to this alliance. And I want to thank you, Foreign Minister, for a final opportunity to discuss our many shared concerns...With regard to regional security, I reiterated longstanding American policy on the Senkaku Islands and our treaty obligations. As I’ve said many times before, although the United States does not take a position on the ultimate sovereignty of the islands, we acknowledge they are under the administration of Japan and we oppose any unilateral actions that would seek to undermine Japanese administration and we urge all parties to take steps to prevent incidents and manage disagreements through peaceful means.”

On the meeting with Secretary of State Kerry on February 22, 2013, the summary of the Foreign Ministry of Japan explains that “Foreign Minister Kishida expressed gratitude to the United States for reiterating its position that the Senkaku Islands were subject to coverage by the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and that the United States would oppose any unilateral actions that would seek to undermine Japanese administration over the islands. In response, Secretary Kerry confirmed a solid commitment to the application of the treaty and appreciated Japan’s self-disciplined response toward the issue of Senkaku.”

On February 28, 2013, in the policy speech of Prime Minister Abe to the 183rd Session of the Diet, he referred to his meeting with President Obama on February 22, 2013: “Through my talks with President Obama the other day, we have fully revived the close Japan-US alliance...I succeeded in clearly demonstrating to both the people of Japan and people around the world that the close Japan-U.S. alliance has been restored and that Japan and the U.S. will join hands in cooperation in order to ensure world peace and stability.”

In the South China Sea as well as the East China Sea, the US has been concerned that incidents might spill over into a military conflict.⁵ The problem is that there have been no workable risk reduction measures.

⁵ See the statement of Admiral Samuel Locklear, U.S. Navy Commander, U.S. Pacific Command before the House Armed Services Committee on U.S. Pacific Command Posture on 5 March 2013: “I am particularly concerned that the activities around the Senkakus islands could lead to an accident and miscalculation and escalation between China and Japan. The close proximity of ships and aircraft from all sides of these disputes raises the risks of escalation. Elsewhere, in the South China Sea, periodic confrontations between Chinese and Vietnamese ships and Chinese efforts to pressure international companies to not explore for oil and gas raise tensions. China has consistently opposed using collaborative diplomatic processes – such as negotiations of a Code of Conduct or international arbitration – to address disputes in the South China Sea, instead insisting on bilateral negotiations.” <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/AS/AS00/20130305/100393/HHRG-113-AS00-Wstate-LocklearUSNA-20130305.pdf>.

In his contribution to the *International Herald Tribune* on November 21, 2012, Foreign Minister Gemba of Japan recommended China to bring this case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in saying that “it is China that is seeking to challenge the status quo” and suggested that China accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ which Japan accepted, and thus resolve this issue based on the rule of law.

In the case of Takeshima,⁶ during the drafting of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the US rejected the request of South Korea on its territorial claim. Japan proposed to South Korea three times, including in 2012, that the dispute be referred to the ICJ, but South Korea rejected it repeatedly. Like China, South Korea has not accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ, while Japan recognized it in 1958.

Regarding the dispute between the Philippines and China on the South China Sea, on January 22, 2013, the Philippines brought it to the international tribunal under the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. China rejected this proposal and in its view, this issue should be settled through bilateral negotiations.

Usually, in Japan, foreign and security policy has not been an issue during the election campaign. However, in December 2012, concern caused by territorial claims by neighbouring countries, partly contributed to the landslide victory of the LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) although the main issue was economic recovery.

5. Two Guidelines on EU Foreign Policy in East Asia

“Guidelines on the EU’s Foreign and Security Policy in East Asia” which was approved on the 15th of June in 2012 by the Council,⁷ is the revision of the former guidelines which were adopted on the 20th of December 2007.⁸ The foundation of any guidelines or strategy on specific issues, for example, EU strategy for WMD non-proliferation, lie within the 2003 “European Security Strategy, A Secure Europe in a Better World.”

The East Asia guideline in 2007 was a nine-page document with 25 paragraphs. The revised document has 19 pages and 32 paragraphs. Apparently, it was expanded and it reflects the evolution since 2007.

There seems to be no fundamental change and many paragraphs are identical. However, firstly, because of the impressive and rapid economic increase in East Asia, more and more interests are expressed on trade, investment and FTAs.

Secondly, EU assessment of security risks and tensions in the region have changed. The risks on the Cross-Strait relations and Korean Peninsula, namely DPRK (North Korea) nuclear and missile program have a more alarming tone in the new document and tensions over the South China Sea have been added. Because of this assessment, the new document attaches importance to “confidence-building, preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution.”

These security risks will not cause traditional military aggression against territories of the EU member countries. This perception has created a huge gap between the countries geographically close to China, and Europe. This difference has been a cause of policy towards the lifting of the EU arms embargo on China.

⁶ On the positions of Japan, see <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/takeshima/index.html>.

⁷ http://eeas.europa.eu/asia/docs/guidelines_eu_foreign_sec_pol_east_asia_en.pdf.

⁸ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/misc/97842.pdf. See James Moran (Former Director for Asia, EAS), “EU and Asia in a Changing Global Order,” Gustaaf Geeraerts and Eva Gross, eds., *Perspectives for a European Security Strategy Towards Asia*, VUB Press, Brussels, 2011.

While the EU has no military threat perception from China, any armed conflict involving China might cause a serious impact on the global economy which would affect the EU. In the case of disputes over the East and South China Sea, it would cause a question of freedom of navigation, which is critical for international trade. Global issues such as proliferation of WMD and missile technology and climate change would also affect the EU.

The old and new documents have many paragraphs and references to China since the future course of China is crucial. The two guidelines express that “the EU should, more generally consistently promote transparent and rule-based international approaches that contribute to building China’s confidence in, and engagement with the international system.”

6. The EU-US Joint Statement on Asia and the Pacific

The EU has sought political presence in the region while the US has been the dominant military, political and economic power in Asia and the Pacific. The “rebalance” of the US policy was interpreted in terms of military presence after Iraq and Afghanistan. The US explains it differently. It will not only imply a shift of deployment of forces, but it will include economic and political interests. It has caused uneasiness in Europe in the midst of the Euro crisis.

In the Joint Statement of the US-EU Summit on 28th of November in 2011, they agreed that “The United States and the EU have a strategic interest in enhancing co-operation on political, economic, security, and human rights issues in the Asia-Pacific region to advance peace, stability and prosperity. We intend to increase our dialogue on Asia-Pacific issues and coordinate activities to demonstrate an enduring, high-level commitment to the region and encourage regional integration, including through the region’s multilateral organizations.”

It was followed by the “Joint EU-US Statement on the Asia-Pacific region,” which was launched by High Representative Baroness Ashton and Secretary of State Clinton, on the occasion of ARF at the Foreign Ministerial level, in Phnom Penh on 12 July 2012. It is noteworthy that this joint statement was proposed by the US.

It refers to the interdependence among the region, the US and the EU.⁹

The EU has tried not to be seen as a “proxy” for the US in the region. This attitude is reflected by the following passage: “Closer consultation between the European Union and the United States on Asia-Pacific issues bilaterally, and with partners across the region, will be aimed at advancing regional security, development, well-being, and prosperity.” The area of consultation and cooperation is: peace and security, sustainable development, and trade and economics. In addition to transnational crime, terrorism, cyber security, counter-piracy, regional disaster preparedness and crisis response capacity, the US successfully inserted a paragraph on the South China Sea: “Both sides plan to work with Asian partners on increasing maritime security based on international law as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, and lend assistance to the development of confidence-building measures to reduce the risk of crises and conflict. As for the South China Sea, both sides continue to encourage ASEAN and China to advance a Code of Conduct and to resolve territorial and maritime disputes through peaceful, diplomatic and cooperative solutions.”

Just before this ARF Foreign Ministerial Meeting, China strongly pressed the EU member countries not to refer to this dispute in the meeting, which caused discomfort among them.

Democracy and human rights promotion is also referred to.

⁹ On its background, see Michael Reiterer (Senior official of the EEAS, Managing Directorate Asia), “EU-US engagement in the Asia-Pacific,” Yeo Lay Hwee and Barnard Turner, eds., *Changing Tides and Changing Ties-Anchoring Asia-Europe Relations in Challenging Times*, EU Centre in Singapore, Singapore, 2012.

Development of the Lower Mekong region is also in the US interest while the EU has attached importance to dealing with Lower Mekong as a sub-region and not on a bilateral basis with the countries in the region. Both are concerned that the poor countries in South East Asia are under strong Chinese economic influence.

On trade, improvement of reciprocal market access including government procurement, reducing non-tariff barriers, providing legal security for investment, and protecting intellectual property rights are in their interest.

As a next step, “both sides decided to continue the regular high level EU-US dialogue on the region at the political and senior officials’ level.”

Not only the US, but also Australia approached the EU and started to negotiate a framework agreement in October 2011. The countries in Asia and the Pacific need the EU as a normative power because of the risk of maintaining the rule of law in the region.

7. EU Relations with ASEAN, Japan, and China

This chapter briefly describes EU bilateral relations with ASEAN and its two strategic partners, Japan and China.

The EU has attached importance to and has supported regional cooperation of ASEAN. In April 2012, on the occasion of the EU-ASEAN Ministerial Meeting in Brunei, they agreed on a Plan of Action, 2013-17. It covers political/security, economic/trade and socio-cultural affairs. The EU-ASEAN Plan of Action was modelled after the EU-Japan Action Plan in 2001. The EU has had biennial ministerial meetings, an annual ASEAN post-ministerial conference, which is supported by the Senior Officials’ Meetings and Joint Cooperation Committee. High Representative Ashton signed the Accession Instrument to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in July 2012.

The EU has supported the ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting, Asian Members: ASEAN Secretariat and 20 countries including Russia; European Members: European Commission and 29 countries, see Annex I) which has held summits every two years and is a framework for dialogue and cooperation between European countries and Asia. It has had various ministerial meetings and senior officials meetings. In the case of East Asia Summit, the EU has shown interest in participating in it.

In the case of Japan, it shares fundamental values and principles: democracy, the rule of law and human rights. This is why the EU and Japan share a common position on many global issues. An annual summit meeting was institutionalised since the Hague Declaration in 1991, which totally changed the relations from the era of economic and trade disputes to those of cooperation in many fields including political security, peace, environmental and global issues, science technology, socio-cultural, academic and youth cooperation.¹⁰

The Hague Declaration was inspired and modelled after the Transatlantic Declaration in 1990. The architect of the Hague Declaration was Ambassador Owada, then Deputy Foreign Minister. He wrote the background of his initiative as follows: “a fundamental lacune in this relationship had remained unfilled - the problem of creating a framework of full-fledged relationship covering the totality of relations on the basis of the spirit of partnership... The idea was to transform the shape of the relationship built almost exclusively on the trade in goods to one built on a much broader basis, comprising not only a broader economic agenda like investment and industrial cooperation, but also

¹⁰ On Japan-Europe relations, see Takako Ueta, “Japan, EU and OSCE,” R. Seidelmann and A. Vasilache, eds., *European Union and Asia: A Dialogue on Regionalism and Interregional Cooperation*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Publishing House, 2008. The following monograph is useful, but more importance needs to be attached to the significance of the Hague Declaration: Olena Mykal, *The EU-Japan Security Dialogue: Invisible but Comprehensive*, Amsterdam University Press, 2011.

political and social agendas like cooperation in the fields of environment, social welfare and security. This Japanese initiative was motivated by the desire on the part of Japan to strengthen the trilateral partnership between three regions of the world- East Asia, Europe and North America- and especially between Japan and Europe.”¹¹

He attached importance to the “need for strengthening policy coordination and cooperation, including where appropriate common diplomatic action, on important political issues.” One is toward Russia, and “Another example in the same context of political cooperation is the need for active involvement and cooperation by Japan and Europe in the affairs of East Asia and the Pacific. East Asia naturally includes China. It is of utmost importance for the trilateral countries, and especially for Japan and Europe to have a common vision and a common perspective with regard to the future of China and to work hand in hand together, so that the new China with her new orientations may proceed on a course of cooperation with us. The crucial point here is that China becomes a stabilizing factor, and not a destabilizing factor, in this part of the world. How concretely we should exert our joint efforts in this direction is a major item for our close consultation.”¹²

Ten years after the Hague Declaration, detailed “An Action Plan for EU-Japan Cooperation” for ten years was launched, and every year its implementation was reviewed. The Action Plan addresses four major objectives: ①Promoting Peace and Security; ②Strengthening the Economic and Trade Partnership Utilising the Dynamism of Globalisation for the Benefit of All; ③Coping with Global and Societal Challenges, and ④Bringing Together People and Cultures.

The bilateral dialogues have been institutionalized. In addition to the annual summit meeting, they include Foreign Ministerial meetings, Political Director’s meetings, High-Level Consultations in Economic Affairs, Regulatory Reform Dialogue, various dialogues in the economic field such as Japan-EU High Level Meeting on the Environment and Transport, Strategic Dialogue on East Asia Security Environment, Strategic Dialogue on Central Asia Security Environment, and eight working groups (Asia, Russia-NIS, Africa, Middle East, Western Balkans, Disarmament-Non-proliferation, Human rights, and the UN) which corresponds to the EU working parties of the Council. Japan-EU Consultation on Space Cooperation will be expected to begin.

Between Japan and the EU, many agreements were signed and entered into force including mutual recognition, peaceful use of nuclear energy, customs cooperation and legal assistance in criminal matters, science and technology cooperation, and internet security. Regarding science and technology cooperation. Japan and the EU agreed to pave the way to create a new generation of green and smart technologies.

After the collapse of the communist regimes in the Central and East European countries, Japan contributed greatly to their reform on their way to becoming a market economy and to the process of democratisation. After the war in Yugoslavia, Japan helped reconstruct the region which was remembered by these countries as well as by neighbouring countries including Austria and Greece.

Regarding peace and security, in the early 1990s during the British Presidency under the John Major Government, in the United Nations, Japan and the EC proposed a register system of conventional arms transfer, and it was adopted and has become an important tool of disarmament and non-proliferation. Another case was on the human rights situation in North Korea. The EC or the EU in cooperation with Japan proposed a resolution of the UN General Assembly over the last several years.

¹¹ Hisashi Owada, “The Japan-EU Joint Declaration and its Significance towards the Future,” Takako Ueta and Eric Remacle, eds., *Japan-EU Cooperation: Ten Years after the Hague Declaration*, *Studia Diplomatica*, Vol.LIV, 2001, Nos.1-2, Institut Royal des Relations Internationales, Brussels, pp.17-18.

¹² *Ibid.*,pp.19-20.

Joint seminar activities on capacity building of border and customs control in Tajikistan took place twice; Tajikistan has a border with Afghanistan. An example of large scale cooperation is counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia. Japan sent frigates and P3-Cs (information collecting aircraft) and cooperated with the EU CSDP naval operations whose code name “Atalanata” continues.

On Palestine, Japan contributed 8,580,000 US\$ in its fiscal year 2010 to the EU PEGASSE system for the purpose of job creation there. At the end of February in 2013, Japan decided to extend assistance to the Middle East and North Africa: in total 13.4 billion yen through international organizations for the purpose of regional stabilization including assistance for refugees from Syria, assistance for democratization (Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, Libia, Jordan, Morocco) and economic assistance to address youth unemployment and as well as mitigate economic disparities, also, economic and financial assistance for Palestine. This assistance is in response to the terrorist attack on Japanese nationals in Algeria in January 2013, which includes strengthening measures against international terrorism, support for stabilization of Sahel, North Africa and Middle East, and promotion of dialogue and exchange with Islamic and Arab countries. Its concrete initiatives are a contribution of about US\$120 million for the purpose of Mali and Sahel, and strengthening of Japan-US counter-terrorism cooperation which covers holding of bilateral consultations on counter-terrorism measures, and cooperation on support for counter-terrorism capacity building of countries in the region.

From spring 2013, the EU and Japan will negotiate a framework agreement or political agreement which will include cooperation in various fields.

The EU’s relationship with China was established in 1975 and is governed by the 1985 EC- China Trade and Cooperation Agreement. The EU and China launched a comprehensive strategic partnership in 2003, which was upgraded in 2010 and which includes foreign affairs, security matters and global challenges such as climate change and global economy governance.

Since the 14th EU-China summit in February 2012, when the High-Level People-to-People Dialogue was launched, the EU-China institutional architecture has been based on three pillars: political, economic and trade, as well as people-to-people contacts. There are annual summits along with regular high level dialogues, and more than 50 sectorial dialogues including industrial policy, education, customs, social affairs, nuclear energy and consumer protection. Human rights are discussed as part of the regular political dialogues, as well as the separate human rights dialogues that have been held since 1995.¹³

After the inauguration of EU High Representative Baroness Ashton, more contacts and the Annual High level Strategic Dialogue were conducted. In comparison to EU policy toward Russia, among the EU member countries, the differences were relatively small. Many member countries in the EU have expertise on Russia, while in the case of China, generally speaking, national ministries of the EU member countries have less knowledge of China. In Europe, among academics, the analysis on modern China has started among young researchers recently, except for a very few established scholars.

China has asked the EU to offer it “market economy status” and to lift the EU arms embargo. In the view of China, the embargo is “political discrimination” and China now, is not China in 1989 and is different from, for example, Zimbabwe.

The embargo is a political sanction in response to the large scale military oppression of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. In order to lift the embargo, all the members of the EU should agree on it. France was seeking lifting, but some countries are keen on remembering the human rights records of China.

¹³ On EU-China relations, see Jan Wouters, et al., eds., *China, the European Union and Global Governance*, Edward Elger, Cheltenham, 2012; Zhongqiu Pan, ed., *Conceptual Gaps in China-EU Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2012.

This should be a very difficult issue for the EU since the US, Japan, Taiwan, and not at all visible, but also South Korea are not in favour of lifting because they fear that EU countries' high-tech weapon system or submarine technology could change the regional balance. They are also concerned that the EU lifting would boost other countries' arms exports to China, which would not be under EU control. They wonder when the European Council in December 2003 referred to the lifting, if the EU reflected on its impact on the US and neighbouring countries, or if it was based on pure bilateral thinking.

The EU's explanation is that if it lifts the embargo, there will be no increase of export in quality and in quantity because the EU has the Code of Conduct of the Arms Export which should be reflected by the member countries' export control authority. The Code of Conduct became a legally binding common position in December 2008. The Code specifies eight criteria, which include "preservation of regional peace, security and stability; national security of the Member States and of territories whose external relations are the responsibility of a Member State, as well as that of friendly and allied countries."

Under the existing Code, the EU member countries are exporting armament to China. It is not a total ban.

The EU's position is found in paragraph 57 of the Presidency Conclusions of the Brussels European Council in December 2004 as follows: "It is looking forward to further progress in all areas of this relationship as referred to in the EU-China Joint Statement, in particular the ratification of the International Covenant on civil and political rights. In this context the European Council reaffirmed the political will to continue to work towards lifting the arms embargo. It invited the next Presidency to finalise the well-advanced work in order to allow for a decision. It underlined that the result of any decision should not be an increase of arms exports from EU Member States to China, neither in quantitative nor qualitative terms. In this regard the European Council recalled the importance of the criteria of the Code of Conduct on arms exports, in particular criteria regarding human rights, stability and security in the region and the national security of friendly and allied countries. The European Council also stressed the importance in this context of the early adoption of the revised Code of Conduct and the new instrument on measures pertaining to arms exports to post-embargo countries ('Toolbox')."

8. The Future Role of the EU in Asia and the Pacific

In order to define and suggest the role of the EU in Asia and the Pacific, it is necessary to understand the characteristics of this region since it is totally different from Europe. The following view by Mr. Robert Cooper in his well-known book, *The Breaking of the Nations* explains the differences eloquently: "Of non-European countries, Japan is by inclination a postmodern state. It has self-imposed limits on defense spending and capabilities. It is no longer interested in acquiring territory nor in using force. It would probably be willing to accept intrusive verification, It is an enthusiastic multilateralist. Were it not on the other side of the world, it would be a natural member of organisations such as the OSCE or the European Union. Unfortunately for Japan it is a postmodern country surrounded by states firmly locked into an earlier age: postmodernism in one country is possible only up to a point and only because its security treaty with the US enables it to live as though its neighbourhood were less threatening. If China develops in an unpromising fashion (either modern or pre-modern), Japan could be forced to revert to defensive modernism."¹⁴

This passage explains that as the stage of development of the countries in Asia differs, so does the political system. East Asia includes China and North Korea.

¹⁴ Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century*, London, 2003, p.41.

Thanks to EU enlargement, Europe consists of homogeneous countries based on the same values and political system.

More than twenty years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. People tend to forget that the historical reconciliation came about between France and West Germany, not the United Germany. France and West Germany shared the same democratic values and the same stage of economic and social development. The Franco-German reconciliation model is not applicable to Japan and China for this reason. The historical reconciliation was accomplished between Japan and the United States after Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. Under the US occupation period the democratisation of Japan was accomplished and it was accepted by the people of Japan.

The introduction of an open economy in China has made its one party dictatorial political system less visible in Europe. However, in the EU, the three Baltic states and Central and East European countries understand the nature of the dictatorship accurately, based on their own historical experiences.

Another misunderstanding is degree of nationalism in Japan, China and South Korea. The articles by the Western media on “nationalism” or “patriotism” in Japan has created a firm “mind-set” which means that the nationalism in Japan has been disproportionately reported. In reality, there was no report on the violence against Chinese nationals, attacks against Chinese-owned restaurants nor massive demonstration against China in autumn 2012 in Japan, while many of the Japanese nationals in China and Japanese-owned factories or restaurants were targets of violence there.

Unfortunately for the two countries, an integral part of the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party has been based on anti-Japanese resistance, and the Communist ideology has no longer played a role in its legitimacy. As long as the real “core interest” is maintaining the one-party system to govern the country, from time to time, anti-Japanese patriotism has been used to unite the country. However as was the case in 1989, anti-Japanese aspiration turns out to be an anti-governmental movement. In China, the government has controlled the excessive anti-Japanese movement.

Any official who has had experience in being involved in negotiations with the Government of Japan has encountered the Japanese position which has followed strict legal integrity and consistency because Japan does not want to commit any legally binding agreement which it cannot implement.

The settlement of wartime reparation and border is different from Germany, since Japan has the San Francisco Peace Treaty, and bilateral treaties with China and South Korea. Legally the comfort women issue was settled by the Agreement Concerning the Settlement of Problems in Regard to Property and Claims and Economic Cooperation in 1965, but as South Korea has raised this issue repeatedly, in order to extend maximum cooperation, Japan established a non-governmental foundation called the “Asian Women’s Fund” in order to implement medical and welfare support.¹⁵ Regarding the Peace Treaty, as the USSR was not a part of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan and Russia are negotiating a bilateral Peace Treaty.

Between Japan and South Korea, in October 1998, President Kim Dea Jung accepted an apology from Japan and assured them that his country would not bring up history again. He started to open Japanese popular culture to South Korea, which was restricted and a certain restriction still exists. In April 2007, when Chinese Prime Minister Wen delivered his speech at the Diet of Japan, he said that “since the normalisation of diplomatic relations, the Government of Japan and the leaders of Japan expressed their attitudes toward historical issues. They recognised aggression officially, and expressed deep repentance and apology toward countries who had suffered. The Government of China and our people recognised it as positive...Regarding the reforming, opening and modernising of China, China

¹⁵ For further details on the historical issues, see http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q_a/faq16.html

was supported by the Government of Japan and Japanese nationals. Chinese people shall never forget it.”

China and South Korea have changed their attitudes. A Joint Historical Study Committee was organised bilaterally with both countries, but produced no significant amelioration.

Taiwan and countries in Southeast Asia, in particular, Indonesia and the Philippines have taken different attitudes. Indonesia and the Philippines appreciated Japanese cooperation to help in their development and have taken a future-looking posture and do not intend to return to history. On December 9th 2012, the *Financial Times* reported that the Foreign Minister of the Philippines strongly supported a rearmed Japan as a significant balancing factor in view of the attitudes of China, whose citizens' passport covers almost the entire South China Sea, “nine-dash” line.

The dispute between Japan and South Korea does not serve US security interest since the three countries should have security concerns posed by North Korea. The US may not let the tension continue between the two countries, and new leaders of the two countries will work better than the former governments.

In Europe, in summer 2007, at the last stage of the negotiation of the Lisbon Treaty, when a Polish leader referred to the occupation under Germany, the leader was heavily criticized by other European leaders including Prime Minister Juncker¹⁶ since it went against the working method of the construction of Europe.

Korean military and security experts deplore the excessive patriotism in their own country, which does not serve their national security. Professor Nam and Dr. Lee have pointed out the necessity to dissociate history and territorial issues and to strengthen security cooperation between the two countries. They deplore the fact that general public opinion in South Korea did not know or disregarded the deeply rooted anti-war feeling and pacifism and significant support for peace in Japan. They also pointed out Japan's legal restriction of military cooperation.¹⁷ This view has been shared by the Korean military.

In Seoul in January 2013, Mr. Gordon Flake, the executive director of the Mansfield Foundation in Washington, D.C., cautioned that " South Korea suffers from a tendency to see Japan as a 'unitary actor' with a poor understanding of the nuances and viewpoints within the Japanese administration and public. Japanese nationalism now shouldn't be mistaken for the militant nationalism of the colonial period...Moreover, while the Japanese media increasingly portray South Korea as a natural partner for Japan, no-one is making the case (in Korea) for Japan's importance to Korea. The U.S.-Korea alliance depends on solid ties with Japan, as does the mutual economic prosperity of the Asian neighbours."¹⁸ The patriotic education in Korea caused these views of Japan.

Nationalism in Japan is not at all to the same degree as the patriotism in China and South Korea. If this aspect is misunderstood, it may result in an incorrect interpretation of the policy by the new government of Japan, led by Prime Minister Abe.

During the Japan-US summit meeting on February 22, 2013, Prime Minister Abe and President Obama agreed that this region should be governed by rules, not by force, and for this purpose they should cooperate with each other on the basis of the bilateral alliance. The US appreciated the self-restrained approach by Japan on the Senkaku issue. While strengthening the Japan-US alliance and

¹⁶ « Succès objectif, déception atmosphérique », *Le Soir*, 2 juillet 2007.

¹⁷ Chang-hee Nam and Jongsung Lee, “America's Alliance Transformation in Northeast Asia and Korea-Japan Security Cooperation,” *The Journal of International Security*, Vol.40, No.2(Sept. 2012), pp.115-116(in Japanese).

¹⁸ *Wall Street Journal Asia*, January 12, 2013.

partnerships with Australia, India and other countries in Asia and the Pacific,¹⁹ he does not intend to counter Chinese offensive activities by force, but he has taken asymmetric measures by promoting rule of law. He said that “I have absolutely no intention of climbing up the escalation ladder” although tensions have been mounting.²⁰

Europe has been free from immediate military aggression for the last twenty years. In addition to this security environment, the geographical distance from China causes a different threat perception. In the view of the neighbouring countries, one side of the Chinese contribution to the anti-piracy military operation off the coast of Somalia is its developing naval capabilities far away from China.

On February 7, 2013, the position paper of the Foreign Ministry of Japan warned that “Recently, Chinese provocative actions in the waters near the Senkaku Islands have become increasingly intense. China's intention to topple the status quo concerning Japan's valid control by coercion is clear.” It explained two incidents, one on December 13, 2012, the intrusion of a Chinese State Administration aircraft into Japan's airspace was referred in this paper in part four. The other incident was that on January 30, 2013, “in the East China Sea, a weapons-guiding radar was directed from a Chinese Navy vessel to an escort vessel of the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force. Such a provocative act risks causing an unforeseen incident, and is extremely regrettable. Japan has lodged a protest to China and strongly urges China to prevent such incidents recurring. Japan is deeply concerned about China's acts, which risk causing further escalation of the situation.”²¹

Prime Minister Abe expressed concern on the 10.7% rise in defence budget of China and its lack of transparency in March 2013. The neighbouring countries anticipate that a tougher policy could be pursued by the new leader Mr.Xi.²²

The latest analysis by the National Institute for Defense Studies of Japan, states that “the Chinese military is likely to be deployed to the ‘right protection’ missions on the sea in support of the maritime law enforcement agencies if neighbouring countries send their military forces for protection of their rights and interests to an area disputed by China. Thus neighbouring countries will need to respond with an assumption that PLA and or PLAN (PLA Navy) may be brought in.”²³

Under these difficult circumstances, what constructive role could the EU play in this region? We expect that in the future, China will take the “Responsible Great Power Course” based on and with respect for internationally agreed rules and norms. The other prediction is that of a “China-centric order course,” which reflects Chinese nationalism, accentuating China's own values.²⁴ In other words, the latter course is similar to pre-war Japan.

¹⁹ Ryo Sahashi, *Security Partnerships in Japan's Asia Strategy-Creating Order, Building Capacity and Sharing Burden*, Asia Vision 62, IFRI, Paris, February 2013, http://www.ifri.org/?page=detail-contribution&id=7574&id_provenance=97.

²⁰ Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan, “Japan is Back” 22 February, 2013 at CSIS http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/abe/us_20130222en.html; “Asia's Democratic Security Diamond,” Project Syndicate, 27 December, 2012, <http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/a-strategic-alliance-for-japan-and-india-by-shinzo-abe>

²¹ For details, see the position paper of Japan: “During the period between September 11, 2012 and February 6, 2013, Chinese government vessels navigated the Japanese contiguous waters off the coast of the Senkaku Islands nearly daily, except some days due to poor weather as a result of typhoons. They have intruded Japanese territorial waters as many as 25 times using a total of 83 vessels. The vessels sometimes stay in the Japanese territorial waters for several hours. Japan is ready to maintain close communications with China in an effort to ease tensions.” http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/senkaku/position_paper3_en.html.

²² See Geoffrey Till, *Asia's Naval Expansion, An arms race in the making*, IISS Adelphi 432-433, Routledge, Oxon, 2012; Tetsuo Kotani, *China's Fortress Fleet-in-Being and its Implications for Japan's security*, Asia Visions 62, IFRI, Paris, February 2013, <http://www.ifri.org/index.php?page=contribution-detail&id=7582&lang=uk>.

²³ http://www.nids.go.jp/english/publication/chinareport/pdf/china_report_EN_web_2012_A01.pdf, p.37.

²⁴ On the analysis of China, see Mitsuru Kitano, “China's Foreign Strategy,” *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol.18, Issue 2, 2011, 37-59. See Annex II. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13439006.2011.630855>.

In his commentary to the *Wall Street Journal* on December 23, 2012, Professor Togo pointed out that “Beijing's latest approach to Senkakus threatens to destroy these creative efforts because China appears to be regressing...Beijing's present behavior is a reversion to the crude imperialism of the late 19th century. It seems China's leaders have not learned from the mistakes of Imperial Japan and all the peaceful diplomacy that Japan painstakingly has undertaken since its defeat in 1945.” His view is shared by Japanese intellectuals.

The EU has always encouraged China to be a responsible power which respects the rule of law and human rights. If the EU or its member states attach more importance to its short-term commercial interests, in the mid- or longer term, it may damage EU interest since a China-centric order would run counter to it. The deterioration of rule of law will not be limited in Asia and the Pacific, but it will affect the other part of the globe since it includes freedom of navigation, which is crucial to trade.

Secondly, the existing EU policy toward ASEAN, which aims at supporting its regional cooperation, should also serve stability in the region. However, regarding the various frameworks in the region, in particular ARF, as long as there is no ASEAN unity, it is necessary to recognise that an ASEAN centrality approach would be an illusion and would not lead to a workable solution.

Thirdly, even if current performance of the OSCE may not be satisfactory for EU member states, the institutionalised security dialogues and risk reduction system including communication networks should be a model in Asia and the Pacific. Multilateral mechanisms and solutions should be introduced to this region.²⁵

Another area in which the EU has significant resources is educational activities. It will produce human resources which could understand the importance of responsible attitudes in international society, and would not take the China-centric order course.

The EU has not fully exploited the potential of Japan, and the same thing can be said of Japan, in terms of stability in Asia and the Pacific. With fewer resources, effective coordination should produce more impact in order to achieve the objectives.

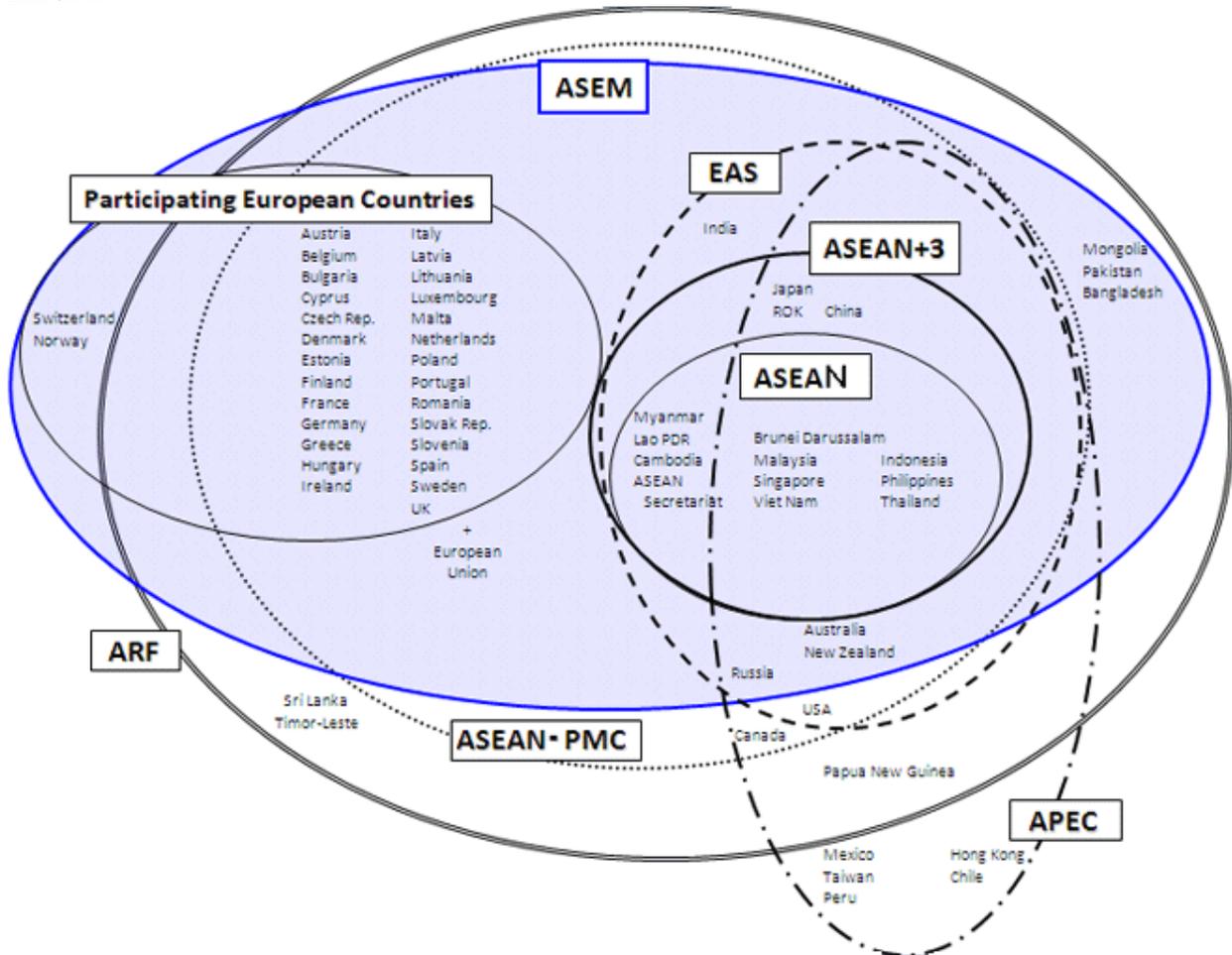
Currently, there have been two concrete projects which could contribute to this region. One is EU-Japan disaster relief cooperation in a third country. The other is EU-Japan cooperation in the field of WMD non-proliferation.

The EU and China agreed on bilateral cooperation on disaster relief management. The EU may invite Japan to join this bilateral cooperation because of its geographical closeness and expertise. Humanitarian cooperation is effective in alleviating political tension.

Other possibilities for EU-Japan cooperation will be nuclear safety and environmental issues. In Asia, there will be increasing numbers of nuclear power plants and assistance to nuclear safety will be relevant and crucial. Environmental cooperation, in particular, air and water pollution in China will be high on the agenda since the scale of pollution is huge.

²⁵ Regarding the “OSCE in Asia and the Pacific,” see Takako Ueta, “From My Point of View: Asia Pacific Security,” *Asahi Shinbun*, Jan.21, 2011(in Japanese); Toyohisa Kozuki, “Why Asia Needs a New Security Framework,” *Europe's World*, Summer 2012.
http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21998/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Annex I



Notes:

1. EU Participates in the ARF and ASEAN PMC (Each EU members doesn't participate in these fora individually).

2. The name and outline of each forum is as follows:

(1) ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) Forum for region-wide dialogue concerning political and security-related matters in the Asia-Pacific region

(2) ASEAN PMC (ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conferences) Forum for dialogue between ASEAN member countries and their external dialogue partners at the Foreign Ministers' level

(3) APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) The premier forum for facilitating economic growth, cooperation, trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific region

(4) EAS (East Asia Summit) Forum led by leaders for developing concrete cooperation to deal with common regional issues

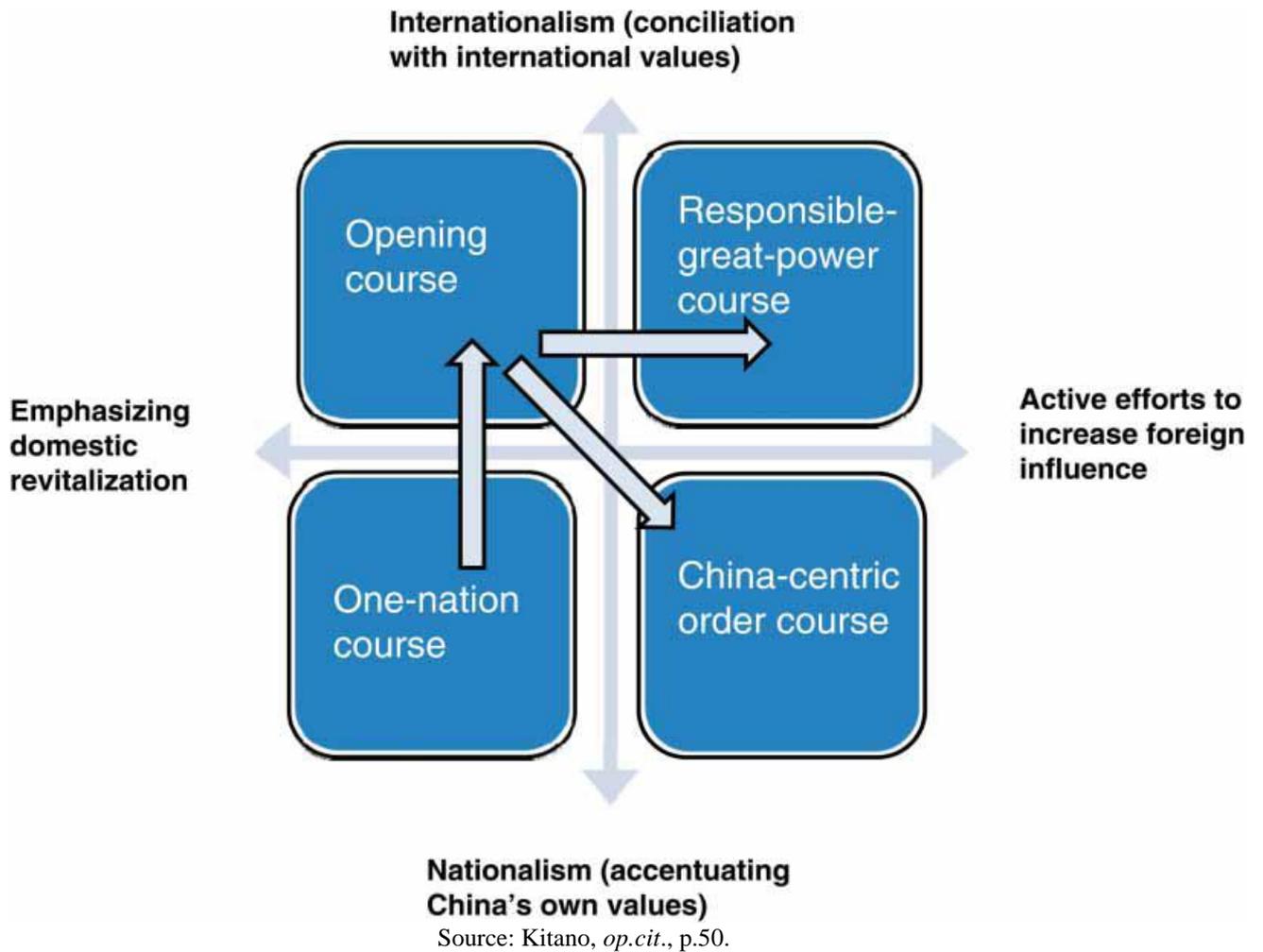
(5) ASEAN Plus 3 (ASEAN Plus Three) Forum for developing concrete cooperation in wide areas among ASEAN member countries, Japan, China and Republic of Korea

(6) ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) An association of 10 Southeast Asian nations for accelerating economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region

Source: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/asem/partner.html>

Annex II

The shift of fulcrum of China's international strategy



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